1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

feathers hanging over the dance place, shake it, and cause drops to fall. Or they might squeeze drops from some object held in the hand, even from crystal. "Between dances I was nursing my baby, and I fell asleep. A shaman, who was my kinsman, came with his eagle plumes and squeezed drops on my face to wake me."(26)

The dancing lasted until dawn, with pauses for smoking. These pauses were, anciently, a period of license, regarded as fertility magic. No opprobrium attached to the changing of partners by married people at such a time, and many young men were famous for their exploits. Young girls, who were carefully secluded, were either not allowed to attend at all or were kept close to their mothers all night.

At dawn, the crier bade the people go home and sleep, but to come again and sing on the following night. In some of the villages a rabbit hunt was held on the intervening day, so that there might be a feast for guests. Otherwise, the people slept. Meanwhile, the tasters continued to test the liquor and to watch it ferment; if it showed no signs of bubbling, after forty-eight hours, some shaman would be accused of bewitching it. The writer remembers an occasion at Santa Rosa, when the liquor failed to bubble at the proper time. The village was shrouded in an atmosphere of gloom and was rife with accusations, both of sorcery and of breach of taboo. Had not fermentation finally taken place, there might have been some unpleasant incidents.

On the second night the people sang again, and toward dawn, if all went well, the liquor was generally at the peak of fermentation. After the final song and before the people separated, the shamans announced when rain might be expected. If there were several shamans and each made a different prognostication, those who were mistaken were in danger of losing their reputation. There was usually some leeway in that a man might say: "I meant four days from the end of the singing, not from the beginning"; or, "I meant a heavy rain, not a light one." Then the crier sent the people home with the words:

27. When the liquor has reached the right point, then you will eat. Then up there [at your houses] the blackface will summon you. Immediately you will assemble. We shall sit and drink.(26)

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49. Dizziness I see;
High up there I see it.
Truly, I like it.
Yonder they lead me;
Dizziness they give me to drink.(3)

50. Are you going to make me a shaman?
Here you lead me by the hand.
Inside all the mountains you take me.
I know not what I am saying.(27)

51. I know not [what I am doing];
I know not [what I am doing].
Ha'iya!
At the foot of Plumed Mountain
Drunk!
I know not what I am doing!
Late at night, I am running around.
I know not what I am doing!
I know not what I am doing!(13)

The following song was sung by a woman who went off with a handsome man at a drinking festival, deserting her children. He took her to Kamatk and left her.

52. My poor children!
Badly I treated you.
To little Kamatk he brought me.
Badly I treated you.(20)

As indicated by some of these songs, sexual license was often a feature of the drinking. It was not a ceremonial obligation, and many men kept their wives at home.

When I was a young girl, I always wanted to go to the drinking feasts. But my father said: "Stay home. When you have a husband perhaps he will take you. But if he does not, then you are to obey him." And I was lucky. My husband always took me with him, while his two brothers made their wives stay at home. He led me by the hand to keep me safe.(26)

But certain unmarried women wandered about alone from feast to feast, living temporarily with any man who wanted them.[8] Such

[8] Underhill, 1939, pp. 183–84.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

endurance. She learned no ritual, and instead of sitting and awaiting a dream, she was expected to work particularly hard. Dreams were unnecessary, since her future career as a bearer of children was already settled and special power would come into her life only when it was obtained by her husband and automatically extended to her.

But it was very important that her character should be set on lines of virtue and industry. The Papago shared the belief common in the area that first menstruation is a time of special sensitivity, when tendencies are established for all time. Therefore, during these four days it was essential that the girl rise early and fetch quantities of wood and water as she would need to do in later life. She must grind corn, work at basketry, and, in fact, not allow herself an idle moment. The only reference to dreaming during this period is the statement: "If she worked hard, the *kots* (a magic serpent) would come and teach her basketry designs."(26)

The family selected some female relative, on either side, who was noted for her industry to be the girl's instructress. This cicerone cared for her charge in the segregation hut for four days, but must continue to exercise her in habits of industry "until the moon came round to where it was before." Sometimes they remained in the hut for this probationary period, or they might go to the home of the instructress or of the girl. At the end of this month came a second four days of seclusion and then a ceremony with a shaman, entirely similar to the christening of a baby and the purification of a mother after childbirth.

During the month of partial segregation a dance[2] was held to help in purifying the girl and to make her "breathe out the danger." This ceremonial, the *wudka*, was one of the oldest Papago institutions. Its origin is not even described in the myths, for it "was there from the beginning." It was at this dance that Elder Brother made himself so obnoxious that the people decided to kill him. It was a time of gaiety and of permissible license. Anyone, but particularly the song leader, had a perfect right to sexual liberties. The rituals even mention "songs with which to approach a maiden at her puberty dance."

[2] Russell (pp. 182–83) describes a similar girl's puberty dance for the Pima.

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In the southern part of the reservation the dance lasted four nights(25); in the northern part, a whole month. It was given wherever the family happened to be, either in camp or in a permanent village. "We used to have good times in cactus camp," one informant said, "because somebody would be sure to reach puberty, and then we would dance all the time."(26)

The length of the time of dancing depended on the wealth of the girl's parents, since they must give a meal to the dancers every night. Poor people might omit the dance entirely, trusting to purification by the shaman to relieve the girl from danger. People who were well supplied sent word to neighboring villages and camps as soon as the girl's four-day seclusion was over, and crowds arrived every night to join in the gaiety.

There were several men in any village who knew the appropriate songs. These they might have dreamed during some period of purification, or they might have learned them from others. The position of song leader for this dance was a popular one, since the leader danced next to the maiden. He and other men dancers received no pay except a meal at midnight. Their enjoyment of the dance came from the license permitted. The young girl dancers received gifts from the maiden, "because they stayed up all night with her." If the dance lasted a month, she generally, when it ended, had disposed of all her clothes and ornaments except what she wore.

In this dance men and women stood side by side in two lines which faced each other. They placed their arms over each other's shoulders and pulled their blankets across in front of them to make an unbroken covering for the whole line. This was the only dance where such close contact was permitted.

At the end of one line danced the song leader, with the maiden at his left and the rattle in his right hand. His wife danced opposite. The lines walked back and forth toward each other singing, for there was no choir on this occasion. After each four songs they rested, though the girl herself was not supposed to sit down. Her family provided a nonintoxicating drink of cactus juice or some brew of berries and fruit. For the meal at midnight they might kill a deer or provide a stew of rabbits, beans, and corn.

If the dance lasted a month, more than one song leader had to

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kitchen. Several beeves are consumed on such an occasion, and a hundredweight of bread. After dark there may be a service in the church led by the woman officiant, and here the scene is outstandingly Mexican. Women crowd in and kneel in the tiny space, while the men stand outside.

After the service, the whole congregation forms a procession, like that to be seen in so many Mexican towns. The head man carries the saint's image, and perhaps two acolytes hold an arch of paper flowers over his head. Behind him comes an orchestra of guitar and two violins, which may cost the church owners twenty-five dollars a night. Then comes the congregation, men first, women following. They march to the cross, which the head man circles, while the followers turn about face, and then they return to the church where all leave contributions in the clay bank on the altar.

After this, comes the dancing. The orchestra takes its place in a booth, and the men make a fire if the night is cold. Old people, young people, and children dance a sort of polka. The Papago know that this dance was brought from Mexico, but they still observe some of their own rules. Girls dance with girls and boys with boys. Respectable women dance only with their husbands. The dance ground contains as many small children as adults.

In the dark, at the outskirts of the dance ground, drinking goes on. So does lovemaking. Both these relaxations were a part of the old rainmaking ceremony, and a few years ago the drink served at church fiestas was the native cactus beer. At present it is hard liquor brought in by bootleggers, and drunkenness is sometimes extreme. This change is hard to assess exactly, for the very same thing has gone on in Mexico. Many Sonora Indians, like the Papago, practiced ceremonial drinking and have now transferred the custom to Christian feasts. The Papago may have copied their Mexican neighbors, or the change to a near orgy may have been a parallel development with all. Certainly when people begin to revive on Sunday afternoon (the dancing goes on throughout Saturday night), there are usually some serious injuries to be found and occasionally a death.

These unaffiliated churches may have been developing at the

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

be thanked by the council. The record of the calendar stick is punctuated with such executions.

Murder, in the Papago view, was not a crime. It took place generally at the drinking feast or in a quarrel over a woman, and the victim's family then had a right to kill the murderer or a member of his family. The Keeper, governor and elders remonstrated with them and begged them not to make the village lose a man, but if they insisted, "no one would interfere." One instance was recited where the murderer had fled the country but his brother was still in the village. The victim's brothers came to the door of his house and told him: "We are going to kill you. Send your wife and children away." He sent them away and then came to meet his executioners. After his death his wife tore down the house, according to the usual custom and all the village united in rebuilding it for her at another place and in helping to support her for life (2).

Murder was considered by the Spaniards a crime for which the offender should be delivered to the provincial authorities, but the Papago ignored the ruling except when soldiers or priests were sent to enforce it. Assault and battery was considered a family affair, like murder and in old times it was left to the people concerned. However, the priests thought it a matter for the whipping post and in some places it came to have that penalty.

There was considerably less scope for sexual offenses than in modern society and a man, particularly, had a great deal of freedom. If he conceived a sudden passion, he could always take the woman as an additional wife, after the proper preliminaries of divorce for a married woman or proposal for a maiden. There were official nights of saturnalia, at the drinking feast and the maiden's dance when he could gratify a briefer desire. Homosexual tendencies were openly acknowledged and sanctioned.

Yet sexual offenses did occur. Rape is never mentioned and an illicit affair with a maiden was not important, but one with a married woman, without the proper divorce, was an infringement of the husband's property right. The husband could destroy or appropriate the lover's property and, if he killed him, would not be interfered with. A woman had less freedom and less consolation. There were no female transvestites and a woman could take advantage of the saturnalian feasts only with her husband's consent. She could have only one husband and, if she preferred another man must be divorced and become a second wife. If her husband was having a love affair, she had no remedy but to scratch the other woman while the village looked on. When too much outraged, she

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end of one line danced the song leader, any man who knew the puberty cycle. He held a rattle in his right hand while his left arm was across the shoulders of the girl. His wife danced opposite. 881 535

The lines went with a running motion toward each other and then back wheeling a little so that they finally covered a complete circle. There was no fire: "We got warm dancing." They danced through the night and at midnight were given a meal of succotash by the girl's family. The girl was expected to dance all of every night, though the other dancers came and went. In the course of a month or even of a night, there might be several singers, as one man got tired and another took his place. At the end of the month the girl made presents to all her girl friends who had danced often and "gone without sleep" with her. One informant said that when her dance was over, she had nothing left. She had given her deerskin dress, all her beads, her pots, sleeping mat and baskets (27).

"I got so thin, so thin! We girls are all like that at our puberty time. Running all day with the carrying basket and no rest. Before dawn that woman who taught me would come and say, 'Get up. Get water, get wood. Do you want to be lazy all your life?' So then we would go running, running over the mountains. When we got home, I slept a little. It seemed I had hardly shut my eyes before they were telling me, 'The dancers are here. Go out and dance.' I did not want to dance. I used to, when I was a little girl and watched them. But now I only wanted to sleep. But my father would say, 'Here comes the singer. Better go out or he'll drag you out. He's mean.'"[1]

The puberty ceremony, according to the oldest informants, was a time for promiscuity, (26, 27) which apparently had the connotation of fertility magic. It is one of the practises connected, in the myths, with the first inhabitants of the land and the reason why Elder Brother, the creator, offended these first inhabitants, was that he, an accomplished singer for the ceremony, used his privileges with girls beyond all bounds.[2] 881 786 836

At the end of the dancing period, the girl was given another bath at dawn and then she went to the shaman for cleansing. The rite was similar to the cleansing after childbirth. The shaman drew a circle on the ground, within which the girl sat, at the east with her back to the rising sun. The shaman stood facing east and walked 881 783 756

[1] In this dancing ceremony there is no suggestion of the "baking" which occurs in nearby California. However, tcuuwa, to reach puberty, and tcuuwam, girl at puberty, come from the same root as tcuwa, to bake.

[2] Cf. the Yuman reason for killing the creator: that he had raped his daughter. Kroeber, 1925, p. 790.

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885 sometimes turned into a lascivious occasion. She and her husband,
[593] as a sign of intimacy, ate out of the same dish and deloused one another's hair.

585 The system of having the groom spend four nights at the bride's
587 house was only for first marriages and if either party had been married before, it was omitted. When the groom was already the husband of the bride's older sister, there were no formalities. The bride's parents simply announced that their daughter was old enough, received his acquiescence and brought her to him. But parents often decided to offer a daughter to a man who had a wife not her sister or who was widowed or divorced. In that case they delayed to consult their relatives and instruct the girl but then took her to him without the preliminary four nights. If the man were still very young, the negotiations might be made with his family, otherwise with the man himself. Adult women also sometimes made their own arrangements but as a rule a widow or a divorced woman who returned to her family was disposed of by them like a young girl.

"We gave my son a wife when he was seventeen. Some people came to us and said, 'We have a daughter. She was married to a man but that man went away to the White school and when he came back, he did not take her. She is older than your son but she is industrious. She may be some help to him.' We said, 'It is true that she is older but we have seen her work. She may be a help.' So we told our son and he said nothing." (26)

A divorced woman thus recounted her experience after she had come back to her mother's house.

"A few days' later my uncle found out. He said, 'We cannot have this woman here with no one to care for her. We must find a husband.' So he went to an old man and proposed for me. I didn't
[562] say anything. No woman has a right to speak against the men of her family." (26)

MARITAL RELATIONS

595 All a man's wives lived in the same house. If they were sisters, it was said they always got along together; otherwise there might be quarrelling and he might build a separate house for one of them. The local tales abound in situations where a man had to divide his attention between two wives.

837 The pattern of female seclusion and modesty was entirely altered
786 after marriage. Women might now go to the drinking ceremonies and to the girl's puberty dance which was the outstanding occasion for sex liberties. For couples to disappear into the darkness at these times was an accepted part of the performance. Women joked

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freely and obscenely with married men and the words they used in semi-joking invitation were used by the men as nicknames. Very few adult men are called, in daily life, by the name given them by the shaman, but rather by one of these terms. Such temporary liberties did not constitute grounds for complaint on the part of a spouse. It was only when husband or wife left home with a lover that there was serious difficulty.

There was a class of women who assumed a married woman's privileges of free language and contacts with men, without any of her duties. This same class, which closely resembles that of the prostitute, is found among the Pimas and called by a name which means "playful" or light woman. If it has been adopted under European influence, it has at least become thoroughly assimilated to the Papago and Pima pattern, for it lacks both the obloquy and the element of pay present in the European institution. The Papago tradition is that the playful women were called out long ago by a youth who played the flute and drove them mad.

The playful women were always in festal array. Their clothing was the double apron or a strip of cotton cloth wound around as a skirt. They painted their bodies, legs and feet, by smearing them with red or white clay and then making patterns with the wet finger tip. They made lines under their eyes with the black specular iron which the men used in war and called "dizziness". On their cheeks they might have vertical marks of red clay. Their hair was well combed and they wore a fillet of hair around the forehead with a bit of eagle down stuck upright.[1]

So arrayed, the light women would go all together to the girl's puberty dances or to the big drinking ceremonies, where married women appeared only with their husbands and young girls not at all. The playful woman would form a temporary union with some man with whom she would visit several drinking ceremonies or dance through the whole month of puberty dances. At such festivities, food was supplied to everyone and her mate need not necessarily support her. She might follow him on a trading expedition, when he would care for her or occasionally she would go home with him and become one of his wives. In that case the other wives would not object, unless she were too lazy. But she generally left him again to attend a new festivity.

Between affairs she would go back to her father's house. Parents made no attempt to control a daughter, if she seemed inclined to

[1] That this type of woman was not a Spanish importation is indicated by two mentions of "prostitutes" in Sahagun: Seler, Neunter Abschnitt, b, 7, p. 366 and Jourdanet et Simon, Livre X, chap. XV, p. 616.

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of working hard enough to keep alive. Papago life does not involve the rigid obligations which burden many primitive societies, with their corelative fear of supernatural punishment for omissions. It may have been their very preoccupation with getting food which prevented the Desert People from evolving such a ceremonial framework. Their communal ceremonies are formulae meant to increase the food supply by singing of rain and plenty, but they are enjoyable in themselves and their chief activity is dancing and feasting. 156

However, they provide an outlet for other emotions than those required by the peaceable life. The Papago had a good deal of sex freedom but at certain feasts the rules were abrogated entirely; the monotony of toil and good behavior was lifted and the orgiastic in human temperament had its expression. Chief among these was the communal drinking feast, when it was the duty of men to saturate themselves like plants in the rain and the resulting madness was celebrated in song. On this occasion, men and women were absolved from marriage bonds and the light and "playful" woman was glorified. Two other occasions, the scalp dance and the girl's puberty dance permitted sexual license as they did through out almost all the West. The Papago culture contained strains not completely assimilable to peace and unity. 156 786

Other ceremonies supplied satisfaction to the restless individual. If he could be content to have his major expression in dreaming, there was the vision. Not the vision of the Plains, which could mean violent individualism, torture and keen ambition! The Papago, absorbing the wide-spread conception of the animal guardian and the song, had dimmed its outlines to as great a conformity as possible with their fundamental ideal. They fasted with the partly utilitarian object of growing used to hunger which was their frequent lot and, with the power achieved, to earn meals for the family. Such power, with many peoples who have a similar custom, expresses itself in a song, but with the Papago, the song was the important thing. The temperament to be cultivated was not so much that of the fighter and leader as of the singer and dreamer. All acts of prowess culminated only when the hero, fasting afterward, had dreamed a song and thus the achievements of the executive were made subordinate to those of the artist and creator. But a very moderate achievement in creation was sufficient and failure no detriment. 156 787

The points of stress for the average individual were few. As a child, whether or not he had parents, he had plenty of affection, no punishment and a gradual inculcation into responsibility as early 156

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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Where the mountain trembles with the thunder 159x
My heart trembles with it. 633

That was what they sang. When I sing that song yet it makes me dance.

Then the little rains began to come. We had jugs of the juice that my 159x
mother had boiled, and all the women carried them in their nets as we came 276
running down the mountain back to our village. Much, much liquor we 821
made, and we drank it to pull down the clouds, for that is what we call 786
it. I was too little to drink. They put me on the house top with my older sister. Our jars of liquor were up there, too. The house top was the only safe place.

We heard the people singing over by the council house:

There sits the magician of the east
Holding the rain by the hand
The wind holding by the hand
He sits.

Then they began to drink. Making themselves beautifully drunk, for 159x
that is how our words have it. People must all make themselves drunk like 276
plants in the rain and they must sing for happiness. We heard them singing 786
all day all over the village. Then my father and mother came and stood by the house where we were on the roof, with many relatives. Oh, they were very happy. "Reach us down a new jar from the roof," they said. So my sister handed it down. Then they gave it to drink to all the relatives whom they loved. And each, when he had drunk, sang a song.

The next day a relative came and said: "Your father and mother are out by the arroyo sleeping. Let a child go and stay with them until they wake." So my sister went. My brothers were drunk, too, but we did not know where. At last my father and mother awoke and came home very happy. For many days they sang.

II

My father told my mother: "There is going to be a big war party. We 159x
have sent men to run to the Place of the Burnt Seeds and the Buffalo Head 721
and Where the Willows Grow and Where the Owls Hoot and to Hackberry Pond. They are to meet us in ten days at the foot of the hills where the Apaches live."

My mother was frightened. It was near her time to menstruate and she 159x
was afraid it would not be over before my father wanted to go. Then he 721
would have to stay home, because a menstruating wife would weaken him 841
so he would be killed. My mother was careful about that. She went out of

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

883 always get odd jobs, such as mowing lawns, in the cities. Almost every youth
464 in the western districts works at the Ajo mine at sometime between the ages
[465] of eighteen and thirty. Here at unskilled labor he can earn $3.00 a day; in war-time wages ran as high as $7.00.

893 Papago youth in mines, in cotton fields, or on ranches work side by side with
466 other Indians or Mexicans and have little direct contact with whites. White
563 employers treat the Indians with friendliness and often make concessions to retain good workers, but away from work the Indians live together or with Mexicans and Chinese in the poorer quarters of the city, so that it is the lower strata of economic life in Arizona with which they become familiar. They do not, however, experience some of the discriminations endured by minority groups in many parts of the country: most cafes serve Indians, and they are not segregated at the movies and other public places.

883 Young people working off the Reservation are relatively free from family
593 influence, and, though many send part of their wages home, they still have
273 much more money to spend than they ever had before. Now and then girls on
[548] their own in the city drift into trouble and are sent home, but they seldom become recognized prostitutes. Boys are likely to spend a good deal of their new-found wealth on liquor; their families at home expect the boys to do some drinking, still they worry lest the lads become involved in brawls that will lead to the white man's jail.

883 The youth himself is terrified of the law. Instead of being reassured by the
671 supposedly impersonal and impartial character of white men's justice, he fears what seems to him its rigid inflexibility. If he does wrong at home, his family may lecture him or even call in the village elders to talk to him about the error of his ways, but the youth knows that he will be judged on his own merits and not on what is written down in a white man's book. Most important, he will not be shut up far from his family and his desert.

883 Sometimes young people marry when they leave the Reservation to take
582 jobs. By and large, however, they go for only short periods or at most a few years. Family ties may become tenuous, but they are seldom broken. The wage-earner usually sends money home and expects to return to the village some day.

GETTING READY FOR MARRIAGE

562 Papago boys and girls do not associate in unchaperoned groups, for the girls
[786] are kept under constant surveillance. In the old days a girl who went unaccompanied away from the house cluster was considered fair game for any man or boy. Even today in her home village a girl never goes anywhere alone, unless

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

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returned to their respective booths, while the people crowded in and the priests sprinkled meal, blessed all those in the booths, and the fiesta was finished, except the grand debauch.

The singers left the booths, and the old woman picked up the basket containing the sacred relic, balanced it on her head, and later laid it on the roof of a ramada, near the house where the tizwin was deposited. The ceremonial articles were tied up in a large bundle, carried to the same place, and deposited near by. Here they were under constant observation, and were perfectly safe. The second day later they were to be placed in their secret cave and sealed.

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The night following the ceremony was given over entirely to unrestricted drinking, indulged in by the entire male population. A peculiar custom is that some of the young men, still able to walk, went around to every Indian house and touched every man on the shoulder with a stick of saguaro wood—a summons to go to the tizwin house and get drunk. This could not be disregarded. The summons was

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13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

796 273 786 always accompanied with the ceremonial phrase, "You are a good man when you are drunk." Any man so summoned arose immediately, found his way to the place of debauchery, and drank. Often the men would vomit, then proceed to drink again, and this might happen several times during the night. All drank, both men and boys, until there was not a sober one in the village.

273 796 Tizwin is the juice of the fruit of the saguaro cactus, gathered in July, and is boiled down to a syrup, then sealed up in small ollas. A cloth is placed over the top, tied down, and then plastered over with mud, which is allowed to dry. Three days before the fiesta is to end, the syrup is placed in a number of large ollas, set in the earth in a special house. Water is then poured into the ollas until they are nearly full, and a slow fire of mesquite sticks is built in the center of the house. The keeper, an old, dried-up Indian, then closes the door, leaving the liquid to ferment. The smouldering fire is kept alive for three days and nights, and when the ceremony is

at their heels, quite terrifying them. 796 535

Now, the time being twelve noon, the crowd dispersed to its various camps, and ate lunch, and for about an hour no dancers or choristers appeared.

About one P.M. a few dancers straggled out of the enclosure, as if to warm up before the afternoon performance, and by two P.M. the dance was in full swing again. The wind and dust had increased, and a heavy black cloud was moving up from the southeast, from the direction of Baboquiviri. [132]

The dance from two until four P.M. employed no new floats or objects other than those noted above, but about 3:30 the young people in the lean-to, with their attendants, disappeared. The crowd began to disperse, and an old Papago told us that rain, for which they had been dancing, was coming soon, that the dance would end before five, and that after the dance, in the evening and night, everyone would get drunk. We left at four, and as we left the crowd of spectators, the dancers were coming out carrying hoes and rakes, the choristers carrying sticks on which were imitation ears of corn. The rain was almost upon us then, dense clouds of dust preceding it and blotting out the entire scene. 796 [786]

The dust was so heavy in the moments before the rain began that we had to stop our car, unable to see the road, or even houses and corrals within three feet of us. Then the rain started, and in this rain we proceeded homeward. [132]

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